

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN



Thirtieth Anniversary

1918-1948

An interpretation of current international events

by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION • INCORPORATED • 22 EAST 38TH STREET • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXVII NO. 22

MARCH 12, 1948

Socialists Support Western European Union

What Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, has called "the smallest Europe we have ever known" is moving toward unification at a swiftly accelerated pace. The cornerstone of this union is being laid at Brussels where Britain, France and the Benelux countries—Belgium-Netherlands-Luxembourg—met on March 4 to negotiate a treaty of economic, political and military cooperation. From London on March 6, as news was given out that such a treaty would soon be signed, the Western powers announced that they would internationalize the Ruhr, prepare for the federation of Western Germany, and include their occupied areas in the Marshall plan. These two conferences clearly reveal an emerging concert of Western continental powers—a trend Washington is known to favor. Since the original Marshall plan was first proposed, the United States has urged greater economic unity in Europe, and there is now growing evidence that this country itself would join a Western military alliance if it were established.

Why Unity in Europe?

The mere fact that Western Europe is approaching concrete unification, a plan often proposed in the past but never accomplished, indicates that world problems are receiving far-reaching reconsideration in London, Paris and other continental capitals. The prevalent feeling that a general crisis is in the making in Europe has, of course, been heightened in the extreme by the recent Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and by continuing Russian pressure on the Finnish government.

Italy, France and Britain, in particular, anticipate that the coming months may test their ability to continue economic recovery and yet maintain political freedom in the democratic tradition. In Italy and France, political and economic problems are usually posed in terms of a struggle between the Communist party and opponents ranging from Socialists to the remnants of extreme Rightist groups. In Italy, however, the majority of the Socialists have been working with the Communists. In Britain the chief danger is external financial collapse in the course of the next six months, as Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps warned on February 10.

Western Europe since the end of World War II has watched the rivalry between Moscow and Washington grow to such proportions that a profound fear of a third world war has arisen. Economic needs and fear of war, however, have now been transformed into one overriding reason for unity—fear of further Communist inroads in Western Europe. Thus the immediate reason which has brought official action on the Western union idea also coincides with Washington's present policy of containing communism through the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan.

When first discussed after World War II, Western union was not proposed as a grouping which would necessarily side with the United States against Russia. To be sure, Winston Churchill in his Fulton, Missouri speech of March 5, 1946 declared he favored a clear-cut split between East and West. But the governments of both Britain and France adopted the plan

of Western union only after great hesitation. Nor has it been supported by the Benelux countries until very recently. Of all the various groups favoring Western union, it is the Socialist parties of Western Europe which have played a prominent, if indirect, part in promoting unification. Even among Socialists there has been no unanimity on Western European federation, although they have been moving slowly in the post-war years toward reviving their own international party ties.

Role of Socialists

Up to now the international Socialist organization and its Consultative Committee known as Comisco have tried to avoid any split with party groups in Eastern Europe. When Comisco met in London in early February it could only recommend that the British Labor party and the French Socialists call a separate conference of Socialists in the Marshall plan nations to discuss that project. This conference is now scheduled for March 21-22 at Selsdon, England. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the British Labor party, has said that the meeting will "blue-print Socialist activity in connection with the Marshall plan." The delegates, however, can hardly avoid giving their attention to Western union. They must, in addition, face the new situation created by the Communist usurpation of power in Czechoslovakia which had had one of the most active Socialist parties in Eastern Europe.

An increasing number of Socialists in France and Britain have swung to the view, tragic as it has seemed to them, that unity in Western Europe is necessary

Contents of this BULLETIN may be reproduced with credit to the Foreign Policy Association

even if it means giving up contact with Socialists in the Russian satellite states. In recent months France's veteran Socialist, Léon Blum, has urged Socialists in France and elsewhere in Western Europe to unite as a "Third Force" to oppose both the extreme Right and Left. In Britain Foreign Secretary Bevin has long been criticized by left-wing party members for not pursuing a more Socialist foreign policy, although this phrase has never been precisely defined. Events, however, have brought both Bevin and some of his leading critics like

R. H. S. Crossman to the same policy of advocating Western union—although it remains to be seen whether Crossman will continue to support a union backed by United States military power. It was his hope, as expressed in the *Nation* of January 24, that the Socialists of Western Europe might cooperate to "win back the workers from communism in France and Italy and at the same time save us from becoming strategic dependencies of the United States and permanent financial liabilities as well." It should be recalled that Crossman,

among others, sponsored former Vice-President Wallace's trip to Britain last year. Now Crossman and the overwhelming majority of the Labor party stand in opposition to the program of attacking the Marshall plan which Wallace has espoused in this country. Only the Communists, a few remaining left-wing Laborites like Konni Zilliacus, and the Beaverbrook press in Britain are in open opposition to the Marshall plan.

GRANT S. McCLELLAN

How Will New World Trends Affect Africa's Peoples?

Paul Coste-Floret, Minister of France Overseas, declared on February 27 that Anglo-French talks in Paris have produced an agreement to accelerate the development of Africa along international rather than empire lines. The Paris parley, latest in a series of conferences which began in November 1945, raises an important question. How will the people of Africa be affected by investment of foreign capital, building of military bases, and cooperation between colonial rulers?

Bases and Capital

If Africa becomes a strategic stronghold of the Western powers, it will be brought directly within the destructive orbit of modern warfare. This trend is rightly arousing serious misgivings, but ironically it brings two indirect benefits to the African people. First, much needed capital is coming in, not only to build bases and related industries, but also to develop local resources. Investors feel that the new strategic interest in the continent will help indirectly to insure the security of their investments. Second, reformers who have long been struggling to help the African people are now able to arouse greater interest in African problems.

The indifference of the American public, for example, has long prevented effective aid to the 100-year-old independent Republic of Liberia which was founded as a haven for freed slaves from the United States. Ninety-five per cent of the Liberian people are unable to read or write, and essential public services are inferior to those of neighboring European colonies. Strategic considerations, however, induced the United States to construct a modern airport at Roberts Field and to begin work on a large seaport at Monrovia during World War II. Today Liberia is aided by United States economic

and public health missions, receives small United States grants for educational development, and is attracting private American capital on mutually beneficial terms.

Without capital and technicians, it is impossible to attack Africa's poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition and disease. If British Africa is better off than the African possessions of other powers, it is partly because Britain's empire received £941,307,000 of the £1,221,686,000 invested in Africa south of the Sahara between 1870 and 1936. Future capital, however, should be invested in a better balanced program for development of local resources. Colonial budgets have long been burdened with oppressive interest charges to finance railways, harbors, waterworks and telegraphs. In the future, essential public services should be financed by free grants or at low interest rates. Africans who want to begin local industries or to improve their farms need long and short term credit facilities. Foreign investments in mining, industry and agriculture are entitled to reasonable profits, but a larger share must be ploughed back into the colonies through heavier taxation. State-owned enterprises like the Enugu coal mines in Nigeria may be necessary in many cases.

The African people also suffer from the artificial boundaries which were established to separate colonial empires. Present efforts of the European powers to coordinate their development programs by removing trade barriers, improving communications and exchanging scientific knowledge are therefore important steps forward. The political significance of these moves, however, is more difficult to assess. Britain's goal is ultimately to give its colonies the choice between independence and association with the British Commonwealth, while French policy aims at keeping French possessions within the

French Union. The British system offers better prospects to Africans. Will cooperation with the French hold it back? If the British colony of the Gold Coast gets self-government within another generation, there will be profound repercussions in the neighboring French colonies.

White Supremacy?

Another potential danger to the people of Africa comes from European immigration. When the Union of South Africa's 1946 census revealed that the non-European population had increased by a higher percentage than the Europeans during the last ten years, Prime Minister Jan Christiaan Smuts opened a drive for 1,500 European immigrants a month. Immigration centers were established in Britain, Holland and Italy. "We want our European population to increase by leaps and bounds," Smuts declared. "Let us once more open our doors. We want to make hay while the sun shines." Southern Rhodesia has received about 20,000 immigrants in the past two years. In 1946 more than 4,000 entered Northern Rhodesia. If a major British military base is established in Kenya, thousands more will enter that colony.

The influx of immigrants may give new impetus to various expansionist schemes advocated by proponents of white supremacy in Africa. The plan of white settlers for a "closer union" of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda came closer to realization when the East Africa High Commission was inaugurated on January 1, 1948. Settlers in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland want a Central African Dominion. More ambitious is the popular South African idea of a Pan-Africa embracing British territories from Kenya to the Union. The most recent suggestion, coming from Southern Rhodesia, calls for a grandiose

Capricorn Africa comprising all European colonies between the equator and the Tropic of Capricorn.

Such schemes are dangerous because their advocates have the wrong psychological approach to the racial problem. The native peoples of Africa may double in numbers within the next generation; ultimately their aspirations will have to be recognized. As Madame Pandit of the In-

dian delegation told the UN General Assembly on November 20, 1947: "There are millions of people in the world . . . whose hunger for food and material needs, great as it is, is not greater than their yearning for a place of honor and equality."

VERNON MCKAY

(The last of three articles on the strategic and economic importance of Africa.)

Finns Negotiate With Moscow

WASHINGTON—Finland and Czechoslovakia are so closely linked in American discussion of Russia's efforts to tighten up its security belt in Eastern Europe that the differences between developments in Helsinki and Prague are almost completely overlooked. In both cases it is true that Russian pressure has been exerted for the purpose of improving the strategic position of the Soviet Union in the event of war with the West. Here, however, the parallel ends. In Finland Russia is using tactics different from those it recently found to be successful in Czechoslovakia, and there is no indication as yet that Moscow is pressing for the establishment of a totalitarian regime in Helsinki.

Czech Crisis Different

While no impartial observer contends that the Czechoslovak Communists could have achieved their bloodless coup without the support of the armed police and Russia's backing, the fact remains that they succeeded partly because of their strength as the largest and best organized party in the country. Any analysis of the Communists' sources of strength must also take into account the existence in Czechoslovakia of a widespread pro-Russian feeling which sprang in part from enthusiasm for a recent ally and in part from a practical desire for friendly relations with Russia.

The situation in Finland differs in a number of respects. The Finnish Communist party, unlike its Czech counterpart, is one of the weakest in Europe and has a membership estimated at less than 40,000. Aware of their unpopularity, the Communists refrain from appearing under their own name and operate through a "front" organization, the Democratic Union, which has 51 of the 200

seats in parliament. Yet in spite of these tactics, the Communists lost ground in the local elections held last December, and may suffer a further setback in the national elections scheduled for July. Although the Communists suffer to some extent from the traditional opposition of the Finns to communism as a political and economic system, they are even more seriously handicapped by their identification with Finland's traditional enemy, Russia. If, under these conditions, the Finnish Communists were able to count upon the possible support of the Social Democrats, who have 40 seats in parliament, their prospects for coming to power would be much brighter. Since the Socialists, however, show no signs of internal dissension, there is little prospect that the Communists will be able to stage a coup on the Czechoslovak model in the foreseeable future.

Purposes of Russian Pact

In view of the continued weakness of the Finnish Communists, Russia has apparently decided to reinforce the controls it already exercises over Finland's strategic ports under the terms of the recent peace treaty. On February 22 Stalin wrote to Finnish President Juho K. Paasikivi inviting Finland to conclude a mutual assistance pact with Russia similar to those the Soviet Union signed with Hungary and Rumania earlier this year. No precise provisions were mentioned but it may be assumed that Russia has in mind terms which would not only prevent Finnish territory from serving as a base against the U.S.S.R., but would permit the use of Finland, under certain conditions, as a springboard against the Scandinavian nations. On March 8 President

News in the Making

World attention is focused on national elections in Italy, scheduled for April 18. Communists and left-wing Socialists are concentrating their propaganda fire on the ERP. The Vatican, in a decree of March 3, warned all Roman Catholics to vote only for those candidates who defend the rights of the Church. . . . The Philippine government has granted amnesty to all persons imprisoned on charges of collaborating with the Japanese in World War II. José P. Laurel, puppet president when Tokyo was in control, may run for the presidency of the Republic in the 1949 elections. . . . More trouble for France is indicated by the formation of a *Committee for the Liberation of Arab North Africa*, under the chairmanship of the old Moroccan warrior, Abd el Krim, who escaped French custody last year. . . . South Africa faces a general election this summer or in the late fall. The racial issue, much discussed in the UN, looms large. Should the Nationalist party unseat the Smuts government, further repressive measures are expected to be taken against non-Europeans in the Union.

Paasikivi accepted Stalin's proposal, after all five non-Communist parties had decided that the government could not flatly decline the offer. The Kremlin had suggested that negotiations be held in Moscow or Helsinki, and the Finns decided on Moscow.

Economic Pressure Likely

If Russia is determined to secure nothing less than an all-out military alliance, it will probably exert strong economic pressure on the Helsinki government. Although Finland has a better record than any of the other former Axis satellites as far as its total reparations payments to Russia are concerned, it is vulnerable to penalty payments because of delays in delivering certain kinds of goods. Thus far, the Soviet Union forgave these penalties, but Moscow could, of course, adopt a harsher policy if it saw fit, and could also be more strict in interpreting provisions listing items acceptable as reparations.

—WINIFRED N. HADSEL

FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN. Vol. XXVII, No. 22, MARCH 12, 1948. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. BROOKS EMERY, President; HELEN M. DAGGETT, Secretary; VERA MICHELES DEAN, Editor. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Four Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Six Dollars a Year
Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.

• FPA NEWS •

Community Polls

Public opinion polls have added something new to Philadelphia and Cincinnati FPAs. In Philadelphia, the FPA joined the United Nations Council and the League of Women Voters in sponsoring an opinion poll on the Marshall plan. In the poll 89.7 per cent of the replies favored the plan, even with income taxes remaining at the 1947 level, and 7 per cent opposed it. Of the people replying, 61.7 per cent believe that the countries aided by the Marshall plan must preserve free elections. Slightly more than half of those polled expect the money spent on the Marshall plan to be repaid to the United States.

In cooperation with the *Covington Post* and Radio Station WLW, the Cincinnati FPA asked five questions in a recent poll: (1) Is Russia preparing for war? (2) Should the United States adopt Universal Military Training? (3) Should the United States send food to foreign countries to stop communism? (4) Would the cause of world peace suffer if Russia dropped out of the United Nations? (5) Does the atomic bomb guarantee our security?

Letters on one or more of the questions were also submitted to a "What Do You Think?" contest, with prizes awarded for the best letters. Awards were: an all-expense trip to a United Nations session at Lake Success; cash prizes of \$25, \$15 and \$5; FPA memberships for the next ten best letters.

Available Now

AMERICAN SECURITY AND FOREIGN OIL
by Bernard Brodie

March 1 issue of

Foreign Policy Reports—25 cents
Reports are issued on the 1st and 15th
of each month.

Subscription \$5; to FPA members, \$4.

FORGING A NEW CHINA

Discussion Packet—\$1.00

Special rates for quantity orders.

Association Meetings

BETHLEHEM, March 13, *Problems of the Pacific Area*, V. K. Wellington Koo

BOSTON, March 13, *America As A Super Power*, Brooks Emeny

NEW YORK, March 13, *India Without Gandhi*, Phillips Talbot, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

PHILADELPHIA, March 13, *Will the Clash between Soviet and United States Policy Force a Third World War?*, Harlow Shapley, James Burnham

AUSTIN, March 15, *Britain's Contribution to World Recovery*, Harry Wright Wallace

OKLAHOMA CITY, March 16, *Britain's Industrial Reconstruction*, Harry Wright Wallace

WORCESTER, March 16, *France: Political and Economic Perspectives*, André Morize, Harrison Lakin

DAYTON, March 18, *The Peril of America's Role As A Super Power*, Brooks Emeny.

TULSA, March 18, *Britain's Contribution to World Recovery*, Harry Wright Wallace.

CLEVELAND, March 20, *Economics of Peace*, Brooks Emeny

MINNEAPOLIS, March 23, *World Federation*, Cord Meyer, Jr.

List compiled from information available at National Headquarters on March 5.

This Is Your Page

FPA News is an innovation in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*. It is your page and is designed to carry the news of Foreign Policy Associations and Affiliated Councils. We hope that it will become an exchange center for novel and profitable ideas in developing community education programs. Your comments and suggestions will be welcomed by the editor, Vera Micheles Dean. Programs of unusual interest, community activities, discussion groups, radio programs, special projects, annual dinners, and scheduled lecture series are among the items which will interest readers.

Program Notes

In Utica, the Foreign Policy Association is making plans for a two-day institute in April on the European Recovery Plan. The association is cooperating with the local Public Affairs Committee and plans to present out-of-town speakers and members of the faculties of nearby colleges.

An all-day seminar on the ERP held at New York FPA headquarters on March 2 was attended by newspaper representatives from the following FPA cities: Buffalo, Cleveland, Oklahoma City, Philadelphia, Providence, and Worcester. Guest lecturers, specialists on the subject, and members of the FPA research staff participated in the program. The background material obtained during the seminar will be used in evaluating and editing press releases on ERP.

FPA in New Orleans will be host to the annual meeting of chairmen of FPAs and Affiliated Councils. For the first time this semiannual meeting is being held outside New York. The principal attraction on this occasion is the New Orleans-Time Magazine Forum modeled on the Cleveland Council-Time Magazine Forum of January 14, 1947. All representatives of the Council of FPAs and Affiliates will be special guests of the forum.

National Dates

April 2-3—Philadelphia, Annual Meeting, Academy of Political and Social Science.

April 9-10—International Relations Clubs Conference for national officers and delegates, St. Louis.

April 13-14—For chairmen of FPAs and Affiliated Councils, a two-day meeting in New Orleans.

April 14-17—The second annual "Report from the World," at the New Orleans-Time Magazine Forum in New Orleans.

Univ. of the South
The Library
Sewanee, Tenn.

LS-1